

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00
PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 PRS-01 CIAE-00 INR-07
NSAE-00 INRE-00 DHA-02 ORM-02 VO-03 SCA-01 EB-08
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FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7778

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 WARSAW 2922

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR OVIP PL (SPASOWSKI, ROMUALD)
SUBJ: VICE MINISTER SPASOWSKI'S CONSULTATIONS IN WASHINGTON

1. THE DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO GIVE CONSIDERATION TO THESE
THOUGHTS IN PREPARING FOR VICE MINISTER SPASOWSKI'S APRIL 27-28
DISCUSSIONS IN WASHINGTON.

2. GENERAL - THE POLES SEE SPASOWSKI'S TRIP AS THE GOP'S FIRST
HIGH-LEVEL CONTACT WITH THE NEW ADMINISTRATION IN WASHINGTON.
THEY WILL BE PROBING FOR SIGNS OF A CHANGE IN US POLICY TOWARD
POLAND AND NO DOUBT WILL EXPRESS WARSAW'S CONCERN THAT THE
CHANGES IN LEADERSHIP IN WASHINGTON AND THE ALTERED STATE OF
US-SOVIET RELATIONS NOT EXERT A NEGATIVE INFLUENCE ON US-POLISH
TIES. IN OTHER WORDS, SPASOWSKI WILL MAKE THE POLISH CASE FOR
A CONTINUATION OF THE UPWARD TREND IN BILATERAL RELATIONS WE
HAVE EXPERIENCED OVER RECENT YEARS, AND HE WILL HOPE THAT HIS
HOSTS WILL RECIPROCATATE. I BELIEVE THEY SHOULD, BUT WITH THE
QUALIFICATIONS NOTED BELOW.

3. BILATERAL POLITICAL -SPASOWSKI WILL PROBABLY FIT HIS COMMENTS
ON BILATERAL TIES INTO THE GENERAL FRAMEWORK SKETCHED ABOVE.
HE WILL COME WELL BRIEFED, HOWEVER, TO DEAL WITH OUR COMPLAINTS
ON THE DIVIDED-FAMILY QUESTION AND WILL BE SURPRISED IF THE
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AMERICAN SIDE DOES NOT RAISE THIS SUBJECT. I THINK IT SHOULD BE
CITED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS AS THE OUTSTANDING BILATERAL ISSUE
BETWEEN THE US AND POLAND, AND THE VICE MINISTER OUGHT TO BE
PRESSED TO EXPLAIN WHAT THE GOP PLANS TO DO ABOUT IT. I HAVE
TRIED TO WARN THE POLES HERE THAT INACTION ON THIS QUESTION IS
BOUND SOONER OR LATER TO HAVE A NEGATIVE EFFECT ON BILATERAL
RELATIONS IN GENERAL AND WILL LOSE POLAND SOME SYMPATHY WHEN US

HELP AND UNDERSTANDING ARE LATER SOUGHT ON OTHER ISSUES. (WHILE I HAVE NOT SPECIFIED WHAT "OTHER ISSUES" I HAVE IN MY MIND, AND BELIEVE IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO CITE ANY, I AM THINKING ABOUT DEBT RELIEF, AS ONE EXAMPLE.) I BELIEVE THE POLES ARE BEGINNING TO UNDERSTAND THIS, BUT, UNLESS SPASOWSKI GETS THE SAME STORY FROM THE DEPARTMENT, THEIR SKEPTICISM ABOUT THE VALIDITY OF MY VIEWS WILL BE GREATLY ENHANCED.

4. RFE - THE VICE MINISTER WILL EXPRESS THE STANDARD POLISH UNHAPPINESS ABOUT RFE BROADCASTS. I BELIEVE WE OUGHT TO MAKE THE STANDARD REBUTTAL: PRESS HIM FOR EXAMPLES OF TRANSGRESSIONS OF GUIDELINES AND REMIND HIM ABOUT WHAT THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT SAYS ON INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING AND THE FLOW OF INFORMATION. WE SHOULD LET SPASOWSKI KNOW THAT WE ARE FULLY AWARE OF THE DANGERS OF EXAGGERATED AND DISTORTED REPORTING BY RFE AND ARE CONCERNED THAT THE RADIO NOT CONTRIBUTE TO INSTABILITY IN EASTERN EUROPE. WE SHOULD SUBTLY MAKE THE POINT THAT RFE'S VALUE TO ITS LISTENERS IS IN DIRECT PROPORTION TO THE ABSENCE OF COMPREHENSIVE REPORTING ON DOMESTIC AFFAIRS BY POLISH MEDIA. (COMMENT: IN A RECENT DISCUSSION, CC-PZPR SECRETARY FRELEK COMPLAINED ABOUT RFE'S SUPPORT FOR "SUBVERSIVE" ORGANIZATIONS, SUCH AS THE WORKERS' DEFENSE LEAGUE. IN RESPONSE, I SAID THAT IT WAS NOT PART OF RFE'S MANDATE TO PROMOTE SUBVERSION, BUT THAT HE COULD HARDLY EXPECT RFE, THE BUSINESS OF WHICH IS BROADCASTING TO POLAND, TO IGNORE IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS HERE, INCLUDING THE ACTIVITIES OF THE WORKERS' DEFENSE LEAGUE, PARTICULARLY SINCE THESE WERE NOT COVERED BY MEDIA WITHIN THE COUNTRY. FRELEK TOOK THE POINT. LATE LAST WEEK, WHEN WE SAW EACH OTHER AT A SOCIAL OCCASION, HE TOLD ME WITH EVIDENT SATISFACTION THAT HE HAD CONFIDENTIAL

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RECEIVED A REPORT OF AN RFE BROADCAST ENTITLED "HOW TO CHANGE THE SYSTEM IN POLAND." HE SAID HE WOULD SEND ME A COPY OF THIS REPORT. HE HAS NOT YET DONE SO. IF THERE IS REALLY ANY SUBSTANCE TO WHAT FRELEK TOLD ME, SPASOWSKI MAY SPRING THIS IN WASHINGTON. I WISH I HAD THOUGHT TO TELL FRELEK THAT THE WDL DOES NOT SEEM TO BE SO TERRIBLY SUBVERSIVE IN THE EYES OF THE POLISH LEADERSHIP, AS WITNESSED BY THE FACT THAT, DESPITE REPEATED ARRESTS OF ITS MEMBERS, NOBODY HAS BEEN CHARGED. BUT PERHAPS IT IS NOT GOOD TO APPEAR TO CHALLENGE THE LEADERSHIP THIS WAY. END COMMENT.)

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5. PRESS COVERAGE - IN THIS REGARD, AND VERY MUCH RELATED TO THE STATE OF BILATERAL RELATIONS, YOU MIGHT INFORM SPASOWSKI THAT WE HAVE NOTED A NEGATIVE TURN IN THE POLISH MEDIA'S TREATMENT OF PRESIDENT CARTER OVER RECENT DAYS (WARSAW 2516. WHILE MORE MODERATE THAN THE RECENT SHIFT IN SOVIET COMMENTARY, POLISH REPORTING IS NEVERTHELESS A STEP BACKWARD FROM THE CAREFUL AND IMPERSONAL TREATMENT OF A MONTH AGO. WE SHOULD NOT LET THIS GO UNREMARKED. IF SPASOWSKI RETORTS BY COMPLAINING ABOUT US PRESS COVERAGE OF RECENT POLISH EVENTS, WE CAN POINT OUT THAT, ON THE WHOLE, US REPORTERS HAVE BEEN FAIR AND OBJECTIVE IN THEIR ARTICLES ON POLAND. OTHER POLISH OFFICIALS HAVE TOLD US AS MUCH. WE NEED NOT WRANGLE WITH SPASOWSKI ABOUT THIS, HOWEVER. WE CAN POINT OUT TO HIM THAT WE KNOW THESE CRITICAL ARTICLES IN THE POLISH PRESS ARE WRITTEN IN RESPONSE TO DIRECTIVES FROM THE PROPAGANDA SECTION OF THE CC-PZPR AND PASSED BY THE CENSOR, WHO IS A POLISH GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL. THERE IS THUS NO DOUBT AS TO THEIR OFFICIAL CHARACTER. (COMMENT: SOME RECENT AMERICAN ARTICLES ABOUT DISSIDENTS IN POLAND HAVE BEEN GROSSLY OVERSIMPLIFIED. I HAVE IN MIND THE JAN GROSS PIECE WHICH APPEARED IN THE NEW YORK TIMES ON APRIL 16 AND THE LEOPOLD UNGER ARTICLE IN THE PARIS HERALD TRIBUNE OF APRIL 13. IN BOTH INSTANCES, THE EXTENT OF WORKER-INTELLECTUAL-CHURCH COLLABORATION IN OPPOSING THE REGIME WAS GREATLY EXAGGERATED. IN FACT, THERE IS NO REAL COLLABORATION AMONG THESE THREE GROUPS OR, INDEED, BETWEEN ANY

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TWO OF THEM. END COMMENT.)

6. CULTURAL MATTERS - WE SEE NO EVIDENCE AT ALL THAT THE GOP HAS DECIDED TO REDUCE THE US CULTURAL PRESENCE IN POLAND (YALE RICHMOND'S MEMORANDUM TO NICK ANDREWS OF APRIL 17, 1977). CONSIDERING THE CHOICE OF SOME US FILMS BEING OFFERED IN POLISH THEATERS AND ON TV, A CUTBACK MIGHT BE IN OUR INTERESTS. I RECOMMEND THAT WE STATE OUR INTENTION TO CONTINUE THE CURRENT

LEVEL OF OUR CULTURAL PROGRAM IN POLAND AND OUR ASSISTANCE TO THE POLES IN THE U.S. I HOPE THAT, IN RESPONSE, SPASOWSKI WILL ENDORSE THE CURRENT LEVEL OF ACTIVITY IN THIS FIELD.

7. ECONOMIC - SPASOWSKI WILL PRESUMABLY NOT TALK AT LENGTH ABOUT ECONOMIC MATTERS, BUT WILL GRUMBLE ABOUT US PROTECTIONISM AND THE INABILITY OF POLISH GOODS TO ENTER THE US MARKET. HE MAY ALSO SEEK A RECOMMITMENT TO THE GOAL OF THE \$2-BILLION TRADE TURNOVER BY 1980 AGREED TO BETWEEN PRESIDENT FORD AND FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK. REGARDLESS OF WHETHER OR NOT THIS GOAL IS STILL REALISTIC, I RECOMMEND THAT WE SAY WE CONTINUE TO AIM FOR IT.

8. CSCE - THE VICE MINISTER WILL NO DOUBT MAKE THE SOVIET-EE CASE FOR A NON-POLEMICAL BELGRADE FOLLOW-UP MEETING. THE DEPARTMENT NEEDS NO ADVICE ON HOW TO HANDLE THIS MATTER, BUT I THINK IT IS IMPORTANT TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THE MORE OPEN AND LIBERAL POLISH INTERNAL REGIME AND SOME OF THE OTHERS IN EASTERN EUROPE. IN OTHER WORDS, THE SHORTCOMINGS OF THE BULGARIANS AND CZECHS SHOULD NOT BE ASCRIBED TO THE POLES, AND DUE RECOGNITION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE PROGRESS POLAND HAS MADE TOWARD IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS HELSINKI COMMITMENTS. WE SHOULD USE THE DISCUSSION OF CSCE WITH SPASOWSKI, HOWEVER, TO ARGUE AGAIN FOR MOVEMENT ON THE DIVIDED-FAMILY QUESTION. WE SHOULD SAY THAT AN INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF APPROVED DEPARTURES OVER THE COMING WEEKS AND MONTHS WOULD REDUCE THE POSSIBILITY THAT BELGRADE MIGHT HAVE THE CHARACTER OF A CONFRONTATION. POLAND COULD MAKE A PRACTICAL CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS THIS END BY ACTING ON DIVIDED FAMILIES.

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9. NUCLEAR TRANSFERS - THIS IS A NEW TOPIC IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS AND THE POLES APPEAR TO BE MAKING MISCHIEF. BRASILIA'S 3187 AND BONN'S 7015 SUGGEST THAT WARSAW SEES OUR OPPOSITION TO THE FRG-BRAZIL NUCLEAR POWER-PLANT DEAL AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO SOW DISSENT BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND BONN. I THINK SPASOWSKI OUGHT TO BE TOLD THAT THE ISSUE OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION IS TOO IMPORTANT FOR ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD TO BE USED FOR SHORT-TERM POLITICAL GAIN; THAT, ALTHOUGH WE DO NOT HAVE PROOF, WE STRONGLY SUSPECT THE ARTICLE IN THE APRIL 14 EDITION OF O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO WAS INSPIRED BY POLISH DIPLOMATS IN BRASILIA, AND THAT WE DON'T LIKE IT. IF YOU WOULD LIKE ME TO RAISE THIS HERE, TOO, I'D BE VERY HAPPY TO DO SO.

DAVIES

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Message Attributes

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